

A Recently Discovered Portrait of Ladislas Vasa as the Pretender to the Muscovite Throne (ca. 1609) in the Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

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ABSTRACT The subject of this study is an analysis of a unique engraving preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France depicting Prince Ladislas Vasa (1595–1648) as the pretender to the Muscovite throne. It is here proposed that the print was probably executed ca. 1609/1610. The author endeavours to reconstruct the ideological meaning of the print in the context of the so-called Muscovite iconography of Ladislas.

KEYWORDS Ladislas Vasa (Ladislas IV Vasa), Sigismund III Vasa, Mikołaj Wolski, Antonio Tempesta, Jacopo Lauro, Wolfgang Kilian, Matthäus Greuter, Camillo Cungi, state portrait, royal propaganda, Polish-Muscovite war 1609–1618

ABSTRAKT *Niedawno odkryty portret Władysława Wazy jako pretendenta do tronu moskiewskiego (ok. 1609) w zbiorach Bibliothèque nationale de France.* Przedmiotem niniejszego opracowania jest analiza unikatowej ryciny zachowanej w Bibliothèque nationale de France, przedstawiającej królewicza Władysława Wazę (1595–1648) jako pretendenta do tronu moskiewskiego. Rycina została prawdopodobnie wykonana ok. 1609/1610 r. Autor stara się zrekonstruować ideologiczne znaczenie grafiki w kontekście tzw. moskiewskiej ikonografii Władysława.

SŁOWA-KLUCZE Władysław Waza (Władysław IV), Zygmunt III Waza, Mikołaj Wolski, Antonio Tempesta, Jacopo Lauro, Wolfgang Kilian, Matthäus Greuter, Camillo Cungi, portret oficjalny, królewska propaganda, wojna polsko-moskiewska 1609–1618

THE Bibliothèque nationale de France houses a unique imprint of an engraving portraying Prince Ladislas Vasa (1595–1648) of Poland and Lithuania as a pretender to the Muscovite throne, an artifact of considerable historical significance (Fig. 1).¹ This artwork provides valuable insights into the visual propaganda of the Polish Vasas and various dimensions of royal representation, serving as a crucial resource for understanding the Polish-Muscovite relations during the Time of Troubles.

INFANS POLONIAE

The oval bust portrait of Ladislas is enclosed within two frames. The medallion is surrounded by a rim containing the title: *Wladislavs D(ei). G(ratie). Svecor(um) Gothor(um) Vandalor(um)q(ue) proximvs princeps hareditarivs; infans Poloniae etc.* (Ladislas by the Grace of God Natural Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals; Infant of Poland, etc.). Above the royal orb and cross surmounting the rim, the crown is supported by two putti. Just below them, the medallion is flanked by the coats of arms of the Kingdom of Sweden and the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Beneath these, a ship on a stormy sea (bearing a banner with a lion) and a town hall surrounded by low secular buildings are depicted. The print, which belongs to the category of *les estampes de genre versifiées*,² is accompanied by a text referencing the triumphs over Muscovy achieved by Ladislas's great-grandfather, Sigismund I the Old:

O glorious prince, sown from the blood of the Gothic kings, yet risen from Caesar's house due to your Austrian mother, look at the triumphs brought about over the enemy by your grandfather the king, while the Muscovite youths were falling down when they had been crushed as soldiers. He, having taken many spoils in various battles, subordinated the dominion of the dukes [of Muscovy] to his empire. Therefore, you will deservedly girdle your

waist with his sacred trophies so that they prove his prowess to you. Follow him and let your father's virtue be your incitement to great achievements: thus your dignity will flourish with eternal praise.³

The central composition, vertically oriented in the shape of a rectangle, is integrated into a portico featuring flattened, pseudo-Ionic pilasters. Centrally positioned within this framework is a chanfron,⁴ above which rests a symbol of artillery on a pedestal: a burning cannonball with lit fuses, accompanied by gunpowder barrels, grenades, gunpowder lanterns, rammers and cannons. Flanking the composition are groups of panoplies arranged antithetically with banners. On the left, the elements reference the West, specifically Old Poland: full armour with a cabasset and sword, lances, pikes, pistols, powder packs, signal trumpets, and a *karabela*, i.e. a decorated sabre with a handle shaped like an eagle's head. On the right, the items evoke the East, namely Muscovy: a Muscovite *caftan* paired with a characteristic *kalpak*, a mace, a bardiche, reflex bows, quivers, *nahai*, Eastern-style sabres, a *pernach*, and the handle of a horseman's pick.

The panel depicting a battle scene below, partially based on engravings by Antonio Tempesta, portrays a clash between Polish-Lithuanian mounted troops and Muscovite infantry against the backdrop of a mountainous landscape with strongholds (Fig. 2). The troops on the left are shown trampling the Muscovite enemy; in the foreground, two lines of dragoons in full armour, equipped with pistols at their sides, are visible. In the distance, heavy cavalry bearing lances topped with pennants can be discerned. Within the densely packed group of Muscovite riders, two figures stand out as representatives of the traditional Muscovite boyar cavalry, or *pomestnaya konnitsa*.

1. Engraving, c. 1609/1610, 203 × 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Collection générale des portraits, 278560 (as Vladislav VII), the shelfmark N-2, microfilm D278560. I am very grateful to Professor Wojciech Tygielski, Ms Vanessa Selbach and Ms Anne-Marie Fabianowska for their kind assistance.

2. Sophie Join-Lambert, "Les Mots et les Gestes. Les estampes de genre versifiées dans l'œuvre d'Abraham Bosse", in: *L'Estampe au Grand-Siècle. Etudes offertes à Maxime Préaud*, ed. Peter Fuhling (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2010), 221.

3. "Inclite Gothorum princeps sate sanguine regum / et matre Austriaca Caesaris orte domo, / inspice regis avi partos ex hoste triumphos, / milite dum fracto Moscha iuventa cadit. / Pluribus hic spoliis diverso Marte relatis / subdidit imperio sceptras ducesque suo, / illius ergo sacris merito cingere tropaeis, / ut tibi virtutis sint documenta suae. / Hunc sequere atque patris pietas sit ad optima calcar: / sic tuus aeterna laude virebit honos"; transcription and translation by Konrad Kokoszkiewicz.

4. The chanfron is a piece of armour designed to protect a horse's head.

The rider in the foreground is armed with two Muscovite-style sabres with open mounts, a reflex bow concealed in a recurve bow case (Polish: *tubia*), and a short bear spear. He is dressed in a quilted and padded *caftan*, often referred to as the Muscovite *caftan*. This significant detail, which revives the Jagiellonian myth, may have been intended as an *exemplum virtutis heroicae* for the future *triumphator* fated to engage in the Polish-Muscovite war.

CAMILLO CUNGI?

The engraving bears no reference to its author(s) or publisher. The publisher's name might originally have been engraved in the bottom margin, which may have been trimmed off before the print was inlaid into a larger sheet; the pinholes at the corners would suggest inlaying. If the print never bore an address, it was likely produced privately for limited circulation. The print shows evidence of hasty processing of the copper plate, possibly by a member of the workshop; for instance, in the upper-right section, the hatch lines overlap the putto's wings. The engraving's style is somewhat reminiscent of works by members of the Greuter family, albeit of a lower artistic calibre. The author's knowledge of heraldry and material culture, his adaptation of iconographic models from Netherlandish printmaking, the accomplished tonal effects achieved through disciplined cross-hatching, and his skillful use of the burin all contrast sharply with the clumsiness of the composition and the formulaic appearance of Ladislav's image. These observations suggest that the publisher of the engraving may be associated with one of the Roman printing houses. The bust of the prince appears to have been modeled on an engraved portrait of Ladislav created by Jacopo (Giacomo) Lauro (active 1583–1645; Figs. 3, 4).⁵

Evidently, the details of the armour and the ruff are repeated, and the composition of the cuirass appears



1 Anonymous artist, *Wladislavs D(ei). G(ratiae). Svecor(um) Gothor(um) Vandalar(um)q(ue) proximus princeps hereditarius; infans Poloniae etc.*, ca. 1609/1610, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Photo © Bibliothèque nationale de France

slightly simplified. The image, originally published by Lauro in 1606, was likely based on the portrait sent from Cracow to Pope Clement VIII in 1603. The face in the BnF portrait has been somewhat simplified and slightly updated, possibly following a print published in 1603⁶ by Wolfgang Kilian (1581–1662; Fig. 5). This print was likely based on a painted portrait

5. Engraving, 216 × 153 mm, Cracow, National Museum, The Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. XV R. 2291 (and XV R. 2309), Jan Fijałek, "Materiały do stosunków księgarza i rysownika rzymskiego Jakóba Lauro z Polakami w początku wieku XVII", *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki PAU* 4, no. 2 (1927–1928), XLIII; Józef Skoczek, *Wychowanie Wazów* (Lwów: Nakładem Przeglądu Humanistycznego, 1937), 62; Jerzy T. Petrus, "Miniaturowa galeria portretów rodziny Zygmunta III", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 37, no. 2 (1975), 159, Fig. 12. See Jolanta Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce. Funkcje, ośrodki, artyści, dzieła* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2011), 231–33.

6. Engraving, 218 × 160 mm, Cracow, National Museum, inv. 33775, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, *Spis rycin przedstawiających portrety przeważnie polskich osobistości w zbiorach Emeryka hr. Hutten-Czapskiego w Krakowie* (Kraków: Hr. Emerykowa Hutten-Czapska, 1901), 2097; *Władysław IV w grafice XVII i XVIII wieku*, ed. Mariusz Mierziński, (Malbork: Wydawnictwo Muzeum w Malborku, 1987), 2; Zbigniew Michalczyk, *Zapomniane konteksty. Augsburg jako*



2 Anonymous artist, *Wladislaus D(ei). G(ratie). Svecor(um) Gothor(um) Vandalar(um) q(ue) proximvs princeps hereditarivs; infans Poloniae etc.*, detail

once attributed to the goldsmith and art agent Philip Holbein II (1553–1632),⁷ but more plausibly executed by Jacob Troschel⁸ (also Dreschell, Dröschel, Tröschel, Drozel, 1583–1624; Fig. 6).

A key clue in establishing the authorship of the BnF work is the near direct quotation of a fragment from Antonio Tempesta's etching *The Battle of Kircholm (Plan of the Battle between the Armies of the King*

ośrodek rytownictwa wobec Rzeczypospolitej w XVII–XVIII wieku (Warszawa: Narodowy Instytut Polskiego Dziedzictwa Kulturowego za Granicą "Polonika", 2020), 60, 62. It is possible that this engraving was published in close connection with Wolski's diplomatic mission to Pope Clement VIII in 1602.

7. Oil, canvas, 1650 × 1090 mm, c. 1602, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 6617, Władysław Tomkiewicz, *Polonica w Niemczech*, typescript, Polish Academy of Sciences Archive in Warsaw, shelf mark III-280 (*Materiały Władysława Tomkiewicza*), XXXIV/19, 21–22 and XXXIV/72, 56; id., "Malarstwo dworskie w dobie Władysława IV", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 12, no. 2 (1950), 156, Fig. 3; Janina Ruszczycówna, "Portrety Zygmunta III i jego rodziny", *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 13.1 (1969), 197–201, Figs. 29 and 30; Petrus, "Miniaturowa galeria", 158; id., "Portrety dziecięce Władysława IV i Anny Marii Wazówny w zbiorach hiszpańskich (Ze studiów nad malarstwem dworskim epoki Wazów)", *Folia Historiae Artium* 11 (1975), 110, note 4; Ewa Krasieńska-Klaputh, Nina Kozłowska, Aleksander Menhard, *Polskie Orły, Bawarskie Lwy. Na tropach wspólnych historycznych śladów* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, 2010), 72–73; Jacek Żukowski, "Pompa Vestimentis. Organizacja służb szatniarskich na dworze wazowskim 1587–1648", *Kronika Zamkowa*, no. 1–2 (2011), 56–57, Fig. 2; Jakub Pokora, *Nie tylko podobizna. Szkice o portrecie* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2012), 135. The inscription on Kilian's reproduction of the painting does not indicate the authorship of the original: *Ad solem hunc orientem oculis animoque conversus Subiectissimae reveverentiae honorem exhibit Philippus Holbein.*

8. Oil, canvas, c. 1602, 2170 × 1240 mm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Jacob Troschel, son of Hans Troschel, a craftsman producing compasses, and brother of the engraver Johann, a student of Peter Yselburg; before coming to Poland he was apprenticed to Johann Juvenel and then Alexius Lindner, Georg Wolfgang K. Lochner, *Johann Neudörfer's Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten in Nürnberg* (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1875), 219.



3 Jacopo (Giacomo) Lauro, *Ser(enissi)mo principi Wladislaw Sigismundi III Poloniae ac Sveciae Regis filio*, Cracow, The Princes Czartoryski Museum. Photo © National Museum in Cracow



4 Jacopo (Giacomo) Lauro, *Ser(enissi)mo principi Wladislaw Sigismundi III Poloniae ac Sveciae Regis filio*, detail

of Poland and Charles, Duke of Sudermanland, 1605, published and partly etched by Jacopo Lauro).⁹ The battle scene in the BnF print is clearly related in form to the cavalry battle in the foreground of Tempesta's etching. Among the Roman-based engravers Tempesta collaborated with,¹⁰ Camillo Cungi (Camillus Cungi,

before 1580–before 1649) is the artist whose style most closely aligns with the working method of the creator of the BnF engraving.¹¹

In addition to the general affinity with Roman print-making, the portrait in the BnF collection shows a particular fascination with the exoticism of the East, while

9. *Victoria relata en Carolo Duce Sudermaniae perduelle Serenissimi Poloniae ac Suetiae Regis, per Ill. um Ioannem Carolum Chodkievicium [...]*, 1606, etching, 256 × 335 mm (impressions in repositories of Amsterdam, Dresden, Paris, Stockholm, Vienna and Windsor), Eckhard Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta*. The illustrated Bartsch: commentary, 35, pt. 1 (New York: Abaris Books, 2004), 259, 260, 364.

10. See Eckhard Leuschner, "Antonio Tempesta as a Designer of Models for Engraved Frontispieces. A Closer Look at a Drawing in the Musée du Louvre", in: *L'Estampe au Grand-Siècle. Etudes offertes à Maxime Préaud*, ed. Peter Fuhring (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2010), 49–54.

11. Eckhard Leuschner, "Cungi, Camillo", *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, München–Leipzig 23 (1999), 103–104. See, for instance, Andrea Camassei and Camillo Cungi's engraving *Alexander the Great in India*, Louise Rice, "ARCANIS NODIS: The Emblematic Thesis Prints of the Roman College". *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 65 (2020), 446, Fig. 9.



5 Wolfgang Kilian, *Portrait of Ladislas Vasa*, 1603, detail, Cracow, The Princes Czartoryski Museum. Photo © National Museum in Cracow



6 Jacob Troschel (?), *Portrait of Ladislas Vasa*, ca. 1602, detail, Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo © Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen Munich / Artothek

simultaneously reflecting a profound uncertainty regarding the outcome of the Polish Vasas' Muscovite policy.

GRAND DUKE, *GOSUDAR'*, TSAR

At this point, it is worth noting that Sigismund III's policy towards the State of Muscovy was based on the idea of a federal union, the origins of which can be traced back to the period following the death of Ivan the Terrible. Until the mid-17th century, the shared roots of Muscovite and Lithuanian-Polish Rus' were not in doubt. These common origins were often invoked during moments of reconciliation, in the course of diplomatic negotiations on a potential alliance or even union.¹² This concept had been in the king's thoughts at least since 1600, if not earlier. Hieronim Grala shed light on the complex context of the Polish-Muscovite relations under discussion:

With the death of Fyodor, the dynasty that directly traced its lineage to Vladimir the Great, the Apostle of Rus', passed into history. This dynasty had embodied, in the eyes of its subjects, the myth of an eternal tsardom. This led to a unique situation in which none of the potential claimants to the throne could secure full social acceptance. [...] The struggle for the throne became a kind of plebiscite, with public sympathies typically aligning with the supposed descendants of the Muscovite Rurikids. However, it was another matter that a victorious usurper could not command the same unconditional obedience and authority as the previous rulers. This was demonstrated by the case of False Dmitry I, who, upon ascending the throne, was surrounded by an almost sacred reverence, only to be murdered by his subjects less than a year later, in 1606. [...] Over the course of a decade and a half (1598–1613), the citizens of the Muscovite state experienced a series of phenomena previously unknown to them: the election of a monarch (Boris Godunov, Vasily Shuisky, Mikhail Romanov), regicide (Fyodor

12. Иероним Грала, "Ruś nasza' vs. 'Московия'. Наследие Древней Руси как инструмент дипломатии Польско-литовского государства XVI – первой половины XVII в.," in: *Древняя Русь после Древней Руси: дискурс восточнославянского (не)единства*, ed. Андрей В. Доронин (Москва: Политическая энциклопедия, 2017), 215–241, here 232.

Godunov, False Dmitry), and finally, *pacta conventa* with a foreign claimant, along with guarantees provided by those ascending to the throne.¹³

It appears that by 1601, and certainly during the reign of False Dmitry I, there was already speculation in Moscow regarding the possibility of electing Ladislav to the throne. In early 1606, Ivan Romanovich Bezobrazov, a representative of the boyars, and later Mikhail Fedorovich Tolochanov presented a comprehensive plan in Cracow for the election of the Polish prince as tsar.¹⁴ In January 1607, Vasili IV Shuysky's envoy, Prince Grigory Volkonsky, during a semi-official conversation with the senators in Cracow, suggested that either Sigismund or Prince Ladislav should take the Muscovite throne.¹⁵ In March and August 1607, Mikołaj Oleśnicki and Aleksander Gosiewski, imprisoned in Moscow, reported to Sigismund that the Muscovites "crave Polish freedom and are ready to put Prince Ladislav on their throne to obtain it", emphasising the rapid weakening of the Muscovian armed forces due to the civil war. According to Gosiewski, many prominent boyars valued Polish freedom and were tired of the slavery imposed by Boris Godunov and Shuysky. Oleśnicki believed that the political and military situation at that time presented an opportunity "to take over the entire Muscovian state".¹⁶ At the turn of 1607 and 1608, King Sigismund's envoys reported from Moscow that during negotiations, the boyars had suggested that they would secure "the voluntary departure of Tsar Vasili" if the king gave them his son to take the tsar's throne. In May 1608, the king officially refused to recognise Shuysky as tsar, and, of course, he did not recognise the similar title of False Dmitry II either.¹⁷

In the summer of 1608, Sigismund III decided to intervene in Muscovy, initiating a propaganda campaign to support his military efforts. Krzysztof Radziwiłł, in a letter sent on 19 November 1608 to his brother Janusz, noted that the king allegedly intended to place Prince Ladislav on the Muscovite throne.¹⁸ The alliance between Shuysky and Charles IX of Sweden (the Vyborg Treaty, directed solely against Poland, 28 February 1609), along with the deepening anarchisation of the Muscovian state, provided a pretext for decisive intervention. Shuysky was unable to control the popular movements, prompting the Muscovian aristocracy to consider an alliance with the ruling elites of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania as a potential solution. The idea of electing Ladislav as tsar emerged in the context of the conflict between the "reactionary princely-boyar party" and the interests of the so-called palace nobility, as well as in response to fears of a mass popular movement and the potential transformation of Muscovite society under the influence of the Commonwealth during the reign of False Dmitry I.¹⁹ The boyars believed that electing a Polish prince and securing support from the Polish-Lithuanian troops would restore order to the country. Mstislavsky and many other influential boyars hoped to obtain the same privileges enjoyed by Polish magnates. Proponents of union with the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania garnered the support of the Zemsky Sobor, primarily because they advocated for peace. The Muscovian nobility, weary from war, believed that signing a pact would be sufficient to end foreign intervention and address internal conflicts. In his manifestos, Sigismund III Vasa promised to expand their freedoms and free them from tyrannical customs. In December 1609, Aleksander Gosiewski wrote in one of his letters

13. Hieronim Grala, "O stanowieniu władcy w rosyjskiej tradycji", *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny*, no. 2 (2023), 93–103, here 97 (translated for the purpose of the current article).

14. Сергей Ф. Платонов, *Очерки по истории Смуты в Московском государстве XVI–XVII вв. (Опыт изучения общественного строя и сословных отношений в Смутное время)* (С.-Петербург: Склад издания у Я. Башмакова и К°, 1910), 261; Борис Н. Флоря, *Польско-литовская интервенция в России и русское общество* (Москва: Индрик, 2005), 62.

15. Wojciech Polak, *O Kreml i Smoleńszczyznę. Polityka Rzeczypospolitej wobec Moskwy w latach 1607–1612* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1995), 27.

16. Stanisław Kozłowski, "Elekcja królewicza Władysława Wazy na tron moskiewski", *Przegląd Powszechny* 25 (1889), 26. Polish diplomats in Moscow sought to establish contacts with potential supporters of Ladislav, Флоря, *Польско-литовская*, 68–69.

17. Флоря, *Польско-литовская*, 76.

18. Henryk Wisner, *Król i car. Rzeczpospolita i Moskwa w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1995), 53.

19. *Ibid.*, 12, 62, 117.

that Sigismund III had come to Muscovy to stop the bloodshed and bring peace, and that he intended to elevate his son, Prince Ladislas, to the position of the ruler of the Moscow state.²⁰

At the beginning of January 1610, representatives of the boyars, atamans, Cossacks and archers in the Tushino camp expressed their consent to submit to the authority of the Polish king or any member of the Polish royal family. The envoys sent to the Smoleńsk camp entrusted the king with the care of Muscovy, which was “crumbling under its own weight.”²¹ Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Lew Sapieha, replied on behalf of the monarch, assuring that Sigismund III would take care of the entire Muscovite state, its inhabitants, and the Orthodox Church.²² An attempt was made to persuade the envoys to accept Sigismund’s candidacy, but it was unsuccessful. On 14 February 1610, the king agreed to Ladislas’s candidacy for the tsarist throne but emphasised that it would only be possible after the Muscovian state had been fully pacified and after he had sought the opinion of the Sejm (the Parliament of the Commonwealth) on the matter. Sigismund agreed to have his son crowned by the patriarch, and the boyars consented to the king’s temporary rule in Moscow.²³ The agreement, structured somewhat like the estate privileges of the Polish and Lithuanian nobility,²⁴ reflected the general social mood, which led to the mobilisation of a significant number of Muscovian nobles to the Polish side. The authors of the pact paid special attention to the needs of the ruined nobility and strongly advised Ladislas to reward people of lower rank according to

their merits, regardless of their origin. Such proposals resonated with the minor nobility, who had lost all hope for change within the Shuysky camp. The pacts allowed Muscovites to travel freely to Christian countries for education and stipulated that joint meetings of the boyars with the estates of the Crown and Lithuania, focusing on the fight against the Tatars, would be held. Ladislas was to consult every move with the boyar Duma, and Polish and Muscovian merchants would be granted the right to free trade. After agreeing on these points, the boyars took a provisional oath on the cross, pledging to serve the new *gosudar’*, Ladislas, faithfully. Until Ladislas took the throne of Moscow, they swore to serve and favour his father, Sigismund. A mention of Sigismund’s temporary rule was included only in the oath and was absent from the agreement itself. However, from that moment on, Sigismund began to consider himself the de facto ruler of Muscovy. According to the Polish court, the planned Polish-Muscovian personal union would serve as a precursor to a closer relationship between the two states.²⁵

The victory of the Polish army near the village of Klushino on 4 July 1610 led to a coup in the Kremlin. Vasili Shuysky was dethroned, and a council consisting of seven boyars seized power; it was headed by Fyodor Mstislavsky, leader of the faction supporting Prince Ladislas. The boyars, acting “on behalf of the entire society”,²⁶ were generally afraid of the forces loyal to False Dmitry II (Pseudo-Demetrius II). On 5 August, negotiations began—apparently, the horsemen assisting the deputies at the meeting shouted, “Golden years

20. Флоря, *Польско-литовская*, 130.

21. Stanisław Kobierzycki, *Historia Władysława, Królewicza polskiego i szwedzkiego*, ed. Janusz Byliński, Włodzimierz Kaczorowski, transl. Marek Krajewski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005), 84. At the audience on 31 January, the envoys emphasised that the idea had long been conceived by representatives of the boyar families to “elect a sovereign from the ruling royal family of Sigismund, who would establish a new knyaz dynasty under a lucky star and, after long and unfavourable times, finally leave heirs to the throne and scepter”, *ibid.*, 86.

22. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III, króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Drukiem Zawadzkiego i Węckiego, 1819), 404.

23. Polak, *O Kreml*, 61, 124–128.

24. Antoni Prochaska, *Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. J. Mianowskiego Instytutu Popierania Nauki, 1927), 77. The members of the Romanov circle, led by Patriarch Filaret, influenced the inclusion of explicit legal limits on the tsar’s power in the February agreement. This created conditions that facilitated the potential integration of the Muscovite state into the political system of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Notably, the agreement’s text omitted any reference to the future ruler’s faith or the borders of the Muscovite state, Флоря, *Польско-литовская*, 121–124, 210.

25. Polak, *O Kreml*, 129–131.

26. Платонов, *Очерки по истории*, 434.

are coming, since we will have Prince Ladislas as our lord".²⁷ On 27 August, an agreement was reached, resulting in Ladislas's election as "Tsar and Grand Duke of all Rus". The terms of the agreement regarding the election were worked out with the participation of all "ranks" of Muscovian society residing in Moscow at the time.²⁸ A perpetual alliance was established between the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania and the Muscovite State; Sigismund was mentioned in the oath, but not as *gosudar'*. The agreement explicitly excluded the possibility of a regency rule by Sigismund III. The news of Ladislas's election to the tsarist throne was met with hostility, particularly by the monarch's entourage. As Wojciech Polak points out, "the king was not opposed to Ladislas sitting on the Moscow throne at all, but he intended to rule the Muscovian State himself for some years (either as tsar or regent) in order to pacify the country".²⁹ Sigismund's recurring argument was that he agreed to place his son on the Muscovite throne only after the state had been "perfectly calmed". The king still hoped to be voluntarily chosen as the "lord and defender of Moscow", emphasising his descent from Princess Uliana of Tver (Yulianiya Tverskaya).³⁰ In a letter to Stanisław Żółkiewski dated 29 August 1610, Sigismund alluded to the rights of his dynasty to the Moscow throne, asserting that he himself was "of the blood of Ruthenian princes".³¹ The king was convinced that being a temporary regent (for at least four years), he

would not be forced to convert to Orthodoxy – a position that would later serve as an argument against the boyars compelling Ladislas to abandon Catholicism. Public opinion in Poland was also apprehensive about the strengthening of the king's position. The author of a popular memorial (possibly Krzysztof Zbaraski), written in September 1610, warned against handing over the prince to the Muscovites, as he could "drown in the local rudeness" and potentially be killed, with the patriarch offering absolution for disposing of a Catholic. He proposed placing Sigismund on the tsarist throne, but in a more cautious manner, such as serving as formal governor on behalf of Ladislas.³² By 1611, European courts believed that Sigismund had become the lord of Muscovy.³³ The systematic and methodical royal propaganda of 1610–1612 was undoubtedly built upon this idea.³⁴

Initially, Ladislas used the title of tsar ("By the Grace of God, the Most Serene Grand Hospodar, Tsar and Grand Duke, Autocrat of All Rus', etc."), but following intervention by the Lithuanian chancellery, he reformulated it to "Elected Grand Duke of Muscovy". The phrase *Cesar Moschis* would occasionally resurface, but only in panegyric texts. The rejection of the title "Ruler of All Rus'" was due to the fact that the Polish king was already referred to as *Dux Russiae*. Sigismund III's son ostentatiously flaunted his rights to the Muscovite crown, hence adopting the title *Electus Magnus Dux*

27. Ibid., 163.

28. Флоря, *Польско-литовская*, 218–221, 371.

29. Ibid., 172, 369–70. "Przeto jeśliby nas tylko po to wokować pod stolicę miano, aby się drewnianym przypatrować basztom i głucho malowanym pałacom, nie byłoby nas po co zaciągać, bo to na wizerunku malowanym obaczyć możemy, ale jeśliby do tego przyjąć miało, aby te narody u Pana swego koronowanego syna na ustawiczne sobie Państwo i panowanie wymóc chcieli (choćby nam przecię z niemi mieszkać długo nie przyszło), tedy byśmy i czasu i wczasu, i łaski swej podobno w tej mierze ich gwoli nie żalowali", Sigismund III to Aleksander Gosiewski, from the Smolensk area, 1 September 1610, Poznań, Biblioteka Raczyńskich, MS 33, fols 202–203, after Polak, *O Kremlu*, 192–93.

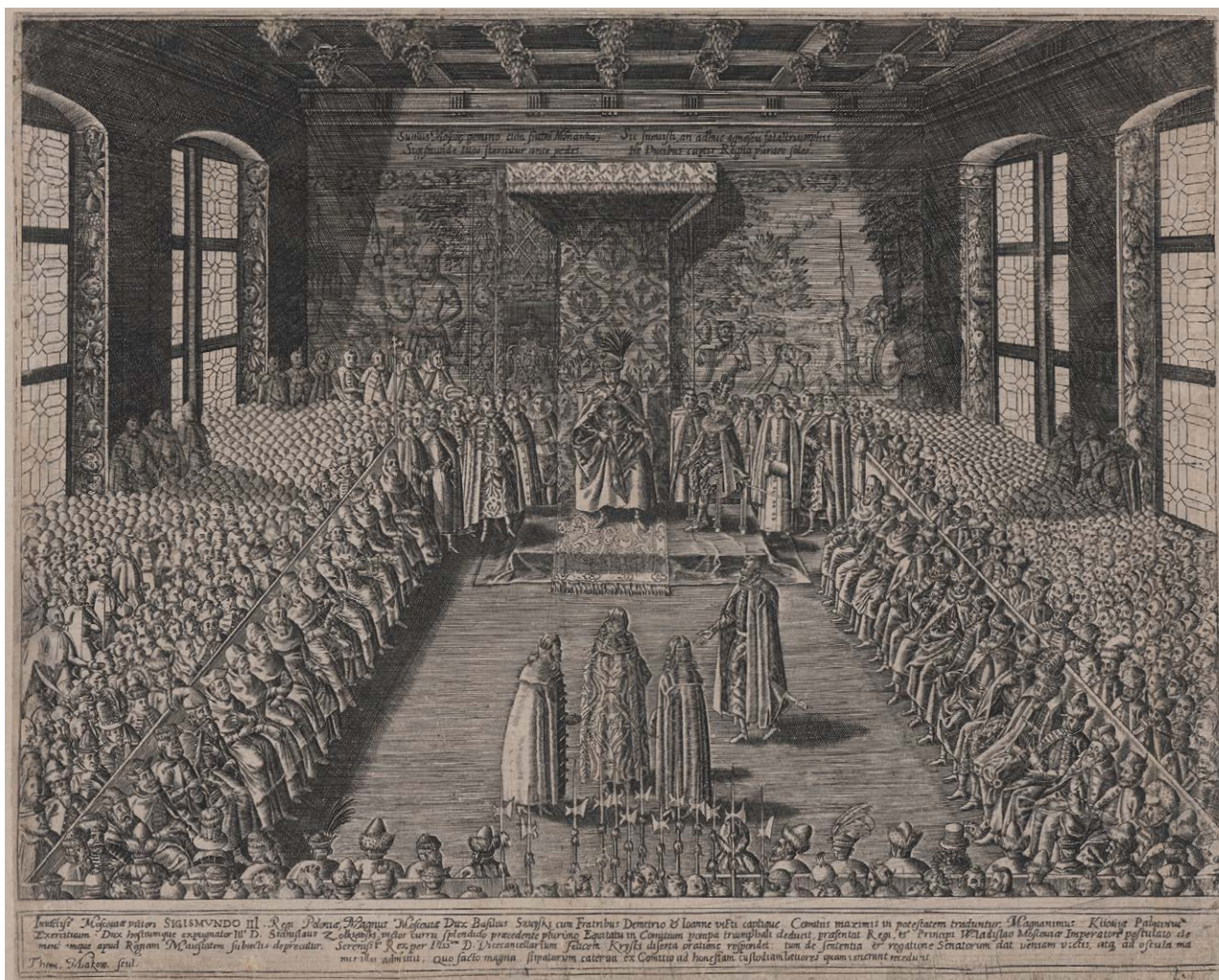
30. Wacław Sobieski, *Żółkiewski na Kremlu* (Warszawa: Nakł. Gebethnera i Wolffa; Kraków: G. Gebethner i Spółka, 1920), 16; Hieronim Grala, "God Save Tsar Władysław. Polish King as the Successor of Muscovite Rurikids", in: *Spain – India – Russia: Centres, Borderlands, and Peripheries of Civilisations. Anniversary Book Dedicated to Professor Jan Kieniewicz on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski, Cristina González Caizán (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2018), 333–347, here 336–339.

31. Sigismund III to Stanisław Żółkiewski, from the Smolensk area, 29 August 1610, Poznań, Biblioteka Raczyńskich, MS 33, fols 172–73, after Polak, *O Kremlu*, 179–180.

32. Polak, *O Kremlu*, 181–183.

33. Jarema Maciszewski, *Polska a Moskwa 1603–1618. Opinie i stanowiska szlachty polskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968), 221.

34. „Bodaj cię palma zwycięstwa potkała, Skronie korona moskiewska odziała”, Abraham Rożniatowski, "Pobudka na poparcie wojny moskiewskiej", in: id., *Utwory okolicznościowe*, ed. Roman Krzywy (Warszawa: Neriton, 2012), 67.



7 Tomasz Makowski, *Presentation of Tsar Vasili Shuysky and His Brothers*, 1611, Warsaw, Museum of Warsaw. Photo © Museum of Warsaw

Moscoviae (or *Electus Magnus Dux Magnae Moscoviae* – Elected Grand Duke of Muscovy), alongside the use of Muscovite heraldry in his iconography.³⁵

In the 12th century, the previously used title “prince” no longer reflected the political ambitions of the Rurik dynasty. As a result, honorific terms such as *khagan*, “tsar” or “grand duke” began to be adopted. From the 14th

century onwards, the sovereigns of individual principalities sought to appropriate the title of “Ruler of All Rus’”, which was intended to assert their supremacy over other monarchs. Following the example of the grand dukes of Lithuania, Vasili II Vasilyevich’s title was extended in 1449 to include the phrase *Bozheyu milost’yu* (*Dei gratia*, “by the grace of God”). Between 1447 and 1489,

35. On the occasion of the Jubilee Year 1625 in Rome, an engraving was published featuring Ladislav as the main hero triumphing over the Turks. For the purposes of printing, the copper plate originally executed by Francesco Villamena (published in 1589 by Marcello Clodio and later by Tommaso Moneta, based on a drawing by Antonio Tempesta) was remodelled. The plate had originally depicted the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa on 16 July 1212. After Moneta, the plate was acquired by Valérien Regnard, who published a revised version of the engraving updated with the Khotyn motif. The heraldic cartouche, with the coat of arms of Sweden in the heart field, includes the White Eagle of Poland, the Chase of Lithuania, and the dominant coat of arms of the Duchy of Muscovy. See Jacek Żukowski, “Zeus i Ganimedes. Wiktoria chocimska w ikonografii oraz propagandzie Zygmunta III i Władysława IV”, in: *Od Cecory do Chocimia 1620–1621. 400. rocznica zwycięskiej obrony przed armią turecką*, eds. Paweł Tyszka, Zbigniew Hundert (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2024), 199–226.

the term *gosudar'* ("sovereign") was introduced into the title of grand duke, initially in an unofficial capacity. Its adoption in political discourse marked an evolution towards the consolidation of the grand duke of Muscovy's power as absolute. After the fall of Byzantium, the term *gosudar'* came to be regarded as a translation of the Greek *despotes*, a term signifying absolute submission to imperial authority, as it had been understood from the reign of Justinian until 1453.³⁶ By the 15th century, however, the grand-ducal title alone was increasingly deemed insufficient.³⁷ The term "tsar" entered Old Church Slavonic from Byzantine Greek as a translation of the word *basileus*. From the 13th century, however, it was applied not only to the Byzantine emperor but also to all independent monarchs who lacked an equivalent of the word "king" in Russian. Changes in the political context, such as the end of dependence on the Golden Horde in 1480/1481, enabled the transformation of the terms *tsar* and *samoderzhets* (*samodržac*, from the Greek *αὐτοκράτωρ*, meaning a sovereign monarch exercising power directly from God) into formal titles.

The new dignity of *samoderzhets* was first added to the title of grand prince in 1492 by Metropolitan Zosimas, who referred to Ivan III as *gosudar'* and *samoderzhets vsey Rusi* ("sovereign and autocrat of all Rus"), styling him as the new Emperor Constantine in the new Constantinople.³⁸ The formulation of the "tsar" title itself occurred only in 1547, while the process of officially integrating *samoderzhets* as a title in foreign relations extended until 1590. The word *samoderzhets* only became part of the ruler's official title under Boris Godunov in 1598. This timing is unsurprising, as the elected tsar sought to emphasise his status as a sovereign monarch in his own right. The term *samoderzhets* was already known in the times of Old Russia: Yaroslav

the Wise was described as such in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* after the death of Mstislav Theodore Vladimirovich the Great (1036). Similarly, Romanus I the Great (1152–1205) was referred to as the autocrat of all Rus' in 1201 in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. In Byzantium, the term signified a bearer of absolute power. In the Muscovite state, however, it initially served as a descriptive term rather than a formal title, characterising a ruler who did not share power with relatives or co-rulers. Before Peter the Great, the title *samoderzhets* coexisted with significant customary limitations on the autocrat's power, and thus it functioned primarily as a rhetorical device. The main source of Muscovite political theory and practice, meanwhile, was rooted in the legacy of former Tatar overlordship.³⁹

The title of *tsar* was first assumed by Ivan III Vasilevich in 1488 during foreign relations with Revel, Lübeck, the grand masters of the Livonian and Teutonic Orders, the German emperor, and Denmark. Under Vasili III (d. 1533), it was also occasionally used in dealings with the Holy See, the king of Sweden, and the sultan of Turkey. Previously, the term *tsar* had been used to refer to the grand duke of Muscovy in a colloquial or literary context, such as in reference to Dmitry Donskoy (1380). In the latter half of the 15th century, the title entered church liturgy in reference to the Grand Duke of Muscovy and, by around 1461, was incorporated into official terminology, influenced by the growing independence from the Tatars. Around 1500, the title "Sovereign of All Rus'" evolved into a political slogan symbolising the aspiration for hegemony in Eastern Europe and the desire for the unification under the tsar's sceptre of the various former lands of Kievan Rus, which were then part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁴⁰ Elaborate formulations of the tsar's title

36. Marc Szeftel, "The Title of the Muscovite Monarch up to the End of the Seventeenth Century", *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 13, No. 1–2 (1979), 59–81, here 61–64.

37. In 1616, preliminary peace agreements were concluded between the boyars and Gustav II Adolf. In their correspondence with Tsar Michael, the Swedes referred to him only as "grand duke", refusing to grant him the titles of Livonian and Novgorod sovereign. They wrote: "We inform you that you are full of old pride and have not considered our king's lineage in comparison to your grand duke. Our king is a true royal son, while your grand duke is neither the son of a tsar nor the heir to the state", Adam Darowski, "Prawa Władysława IV do korony carskiej", in: id., *Szkice historyczne. Seria II* (Petersburg: Nakładem Księgarni Polskiej K. Grendyszyńskiego, 1895), 296–297.

38. Szeftel, "The Title of the Muscovite Monarch", 65.

39. Ibid., 69.

40. Надежда А. Соболева, *Русские печати* (Москва: Наука, 1991), 225; ead., *Очерки истории российской символики: от тамги до символов государственного суверенитета* (Moskva: Языки Славянских Культур, 2006), 302.

began to appear in the 16th century. Analysis of their content reveals that, by the 1560s, they were closely tied to eschatological ideas. One such notion envisioned Muscovy playing a pivotal role in the “End Times” as a millenarian state.⁴¹

It is no coincidence that in 1503 Alexander Jagiellon, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, instructed his envoys in Moscow to refuse to address the duke of Muscovy as the lord of all Rus'. It is worth noting that the grand dukes of Lithuania and the rulers of Muscovy had been in continuous conflict, at least since the conquest of Smolensk by Vasili III in 1514. Vasili III assumed the title of *tsar* in his dealings with numerous other states but refrained from using it in relations with the Commonwealth. The diplomatic struggle over mutual recognition of titles persisted during the negotiations at Yam-Zapolsky (1581/1582). For decades, depending on the political context, these disputes were reflected in varying degrees of formality in negotiation tones, the treatment of envoys, and other diplomatic interactions. Muscovy's claim to Kiev and Ruthenia, which would be forcefully pursued in the 17th century, was not abandoned despite earlier defeats. This claim underscored the significance of Ivan's title, which referred to him as the lord “of all Rus'”. The importance of such outward displays of authority is evident not only from Ivan the Terrible's repeated emphasis on the matter but also from the extensive discussions in European publications of the time. Foreign observers often equated the term *tsar* with *emperor*, a translation that gained currency among Muscovites themselves, although for them *tsar* generally signified a “king”. Austrian and Polish diplomats, however, did not acknowledge the title of *tsar* for the ruler of Muscovy, referring to Ivan the Terrible as “grand duke” (*Magnus Dux* or *Gran duca*). Polish-Lithuanian and German-Imperial documents consistently adhered to this title, even when adopting a conciliatory stance toward Muscovy.

In the *Credentzschreiben*, Ivan IV referred to himself as a “zar” or “czair” and *Monarcha*, while Maximilian II addressed his reply solely to the “prince and lord.” Ivan IV was described as *Kayser*, *Imperator* or *Imperatore* primarily in early pamphlets and chronicles, during

a period when disputes over titles with Muscovy were not yet widely known and the Polish-Lithuanian influence on European political terminology had not yet become pronounced. There was a prevailing belief that the Muscovite ruler had usurped the title in hopes of expanding his empire, aspiring to be recognised as the third – northern – emperor, alongside the Roman and Turkish emperors. However, as Marc Szeftel points out, the tsar “was not the universal emperor of the Christian world, a concept on which the authority of the Byzantine ruler was based until its very end. Moreover, the Muscovite monarchs never even attempted to claim such universality.”⁴² Not only Ivan IV's assumption of the title *tsar* but also other elements of his lengthy title caused significant disputes. For instance, much controversy arose over the political agenda behind the formula *vsey Rusi (totius Russiae)*, which challenged Polish sovereignty over Belarusian and Ukrainian territories. Ivan I Danilovich Kalita had expanded his title to include “grand prince of all Rus'”.⁴³ Polish sources from the reign of Stephen Báthory deliberately omitted references to Livonia, Polotsk or Smolensk in Ivan's title, particularly in official correspondence. The tsar's attachment to these titles is evident from his efforts during the Yam-Zapolsky negotiations to retain at least the title of ruler of Livonia, if not the territory itself. The 1582 ceasefire documents, as printed in Possevino's *Moscovia*, clearly illustrate the determination with which not only territorial claims but also titles were contested at that time. The Muscovite version of the documents includes Ivan's full title, omitting only Polotsk. However, the Polish version refrains from using “tsar” altogether; instead of *Dominus totius Russiae*, it simply states *Dominus Russiae*, and makes no mention of Livonia or Smolensk.⁴⁴ Philip Longworth points out that

the designation *Gosudar* [Sovereign lord] was first used in the fifteenth century, apparently to distinguish Moscow's ruler from other grand princes, and put him on a higher level (Ivan III called himself ‘Sole lawful Sovereign’). [...] The title ‘tsar’ had been used since medieval times, partly, perhaps, to avoid the designation ‘king’ which was tainted in Russian eyes by its Catholic associations. Ivan III got the Turks to recognize his right to the title; and

41. Александр И. Филюшкин, *Титулы русских государей* (Москва–Санкт-Петербург: Альянс-Архео, 2006), 55, 239, 240, 241.

42. Szeftel, “The Title of the Muscovite Monarch”, 81.

43. Филюшкин, *Титулы*, 60.

44. Andreas Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes* (Bern: H. Lang, 1972), 210–222.

visiting Greek hierarchs, needing finance from Russia and anxious to please, referred to him as such, but he contented himself with grand duke and 'the only lawful sovereign'. God was the obvious source of legitimization, but there is no early reference to anointment, the accepted means by which legitimacy was conveyed probably because no chrism was available with which he could be anointed. [...] As Herberstein noticed (or was told by his Russian minders), the trinity of titles Tsar, Autocrat and Great Sovereign was a terrestrial reflection of the Holy Trinity. The eschatological expectations thereby generated stimulated the lettered class both spiritually and politically. [...] Ivan IV assumed the title Tsar in 1547, although a conclave of Orthodox prelates in Constantinople did not endorse the entitlement until 1561 and it still had to be legitimized internationally. In 1549 the designation 'orthodox' was added; and then the preface 'By grace of God'. The phrase 'of All Russia', originally a term of respect, is a different case because it came to represent a claim to territory, though it had different meanings for different parties. For Orthodox Russians the term came to imply an obligation to incorporate all territories whose populations had once been Orthodox, whereas for Catholic Lithuanians and Poles it had ethnic rather than religious connotations, an example of difficulties arising from contrasting political cultures. [...] [T]he chief defining point of Muscovite political culture was a theocratic idea of the ruler.⁴⁵

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

During the period of Ladislás's titular rule of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy (1610–1635), three distinct stages of visual propaganda can be identified. The first stage, which lasted until 1616, involved Muscovite boyars, the ambitious Field Hetman of the Crown Stanisław Żółkiewski, and Sigismund III, who sought either to secure the Moscow throne for himself or to assume regency.

The second stage concerns the expedition undertaken between 1617 and 1619, culminating in the Truce of Deulino. In this phase, alongside the king's propagandistic activities, there was a significant increase in the independent aspirations of his eldest son. The third stage began with Ladislás's nominal reign, lasting until the Treaty of Polyanovka, which came into effect in 1635. After Ladislás's election, Żółkiewski took the oath on his behalf and was then ceremonially escorted to the Kremlin, where he received the keys to the city of Moscow. As governor, Żółkiewski took possession of all the insignia and treasures of the Muscovite state, including the crown and sceptres, pledging that Ladislás would follow Muscovite customs and be crowned in Moscow.

January 1611 marked the beginning of the uprising against Ladislás's authority, but this was a protracted process.⁴⁶ During the autumn 1611 Sejm session, a proposal to place Sigismund on the tsarist throne was rejected. The king sought advice from the senators, but only a few supported him. Among them was Szymon Rudnicki, Bishop of Warmia. In early February 1612, the king publicly accepted the idea of placing Ladislás on the tsarist throne and announced that he was going to Moscow with his son.⁴⁷ By the proclamation of 8 March 1612, Sigismund III officially informed his subjects about the Muscovite election. On 26 June, Ladislás, accompanied by his father, departed from Warsaw "for the coronation in Moscow", reaching Smolensk on 2 October, and subsequently moving on to Vyazma. On 6 November 1612, the Polish-Lithuanian troops stationed in the Kremlin capitulated. On 11 December, the royal camp was set up nine miles from Moscow. However, after a brief skirmish, the Vasas withdrew back to the Commonwealth.⁴⁸ Sigismund III's obstinacy in

45. Philip Longworth, "Review: *Tituly russkikh gosudarei* by A. I. Filiushkin", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 84, no. 3 (2008), 549–550. See Günther Stökl, *Testament und Siegel Ivans IV* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1972), 41–69.

46. Игорь О. Тюменцев, "Сапежинцы и зарождение первого земского ополчения по материалам Русского Архива Я. Сапехи 1608–1611 годов", in: *Три даты трагического пятидесятилетия Европы (1598–1618–1648): Россия и Запад в годы Смуты, религиозных конфликтов и Тридцатилетней войны*, eds. Владислав Д. Назаров, Павел Ю. Уваров (Москва: Институт всеобщей истории РАН, 2018), 95–102.

47. Maciszewski, *Polska a Moskwa*, 244; Janusz Byliński, *Dwa sejmy z roku 1613* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1984), 11.

48. „Był to finał [...] carstwowania Władysława”, Józef Budziło, *Wojna moskiewska wzniecona i prowadzona z okazji fałszywych Dymitrów od 1603 do 1612 r.*, eds. Janusz Byliński, Józef Długosz (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1995), 21. On 21 September, the commanders of the Polish unit in the Kremlin wrote to Prince Dmitri Pozharsky, informing him that they were expecting the safe arrival of the king and his son. Once this occurred, they planned to place a crown on the head of Tsar Ladislás, together with his loyal subjects who had remained faithful to him, *ibid.*, 157.

his regency on behalf of his son, along with many other factors, contributed to the victory of the popular movement, the first and second *opolcheniye*, aimed at opposing Sigismund's "military dictatorship".⁴⁹ On 17 February 1613, the Zemsky Sobor held a double election: the son of Patriarch Filaret Romanov and Prince Charles Philip of Sweden, Duke of Södermanland, were both nominated. The Polish court's resistance to the Swedish candidacy was one of the key factors in the election process.⁵⁰ Ultimately, the Zemsky Sobor rejected the candidacies of foreigners, and on 3 March, it elected Michael Romanov as tsar. His imminent coronation effectively ended Ladislav's prospects of securing the Muscovite throne.⁵¹

In December 1614, the boyars sent an envoy, Fyodor Grigoryevich Zhelyabuzhskiy, to the senators of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (he came to Warsaw at the end of February 1615); in the charter attached to the mission, they wrote:

Your great monarch, King Sigismund, and his son, Prince Ladislav, came to the Muscovite State at a time when all of us – the boyars and people of all ranks from all the great Muscovite lands – were looking to Your Lordship, witnessing many injustices and crimes committed by Poles and Lithuanians against the Muscovite State and our true Orthodox faith. United in one purpose, we swore oaths upon the cross. For, due to the great injustices and the devastation of the Muscovite State, we do not wish for the son of your great Lord, King Sigismund, Prince Ladislav, to rule over us. And if Your Lordship wishes to personally govern the Muscovite State or to establish his son, Prince Ladislav, in it, then we shall all stand against you and fight to the death, as long as gracious God grants us strength.

We have cleared the princely city of Moscow of Polish and Lithuanian troops. At that time, your monarch, King Sigismund, and his son, Prince Ladislav, came to the Muscovite State, not with mercy, nor in a manner that would calm the land. They arrived with war and upheaval,

intending to place the great Muscovite State under their control and to utterly desecrate our true Christian faith of the Greek rite. The royal troops, advancing toward Moscow and retreating, burned, fought, and attacked cities, mercilessly beating innocent people – not only those who, seeing the king's injustices, fought against him but also those who obeyed him. All these injustices were carried out by your side and under your ruler's command, yet our souls remained pure.

Therefore, for you, our brothers, the senators of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, now and in the future, it is unjust to even consider that the son of your king, Prince Ladislav, should be [the ruler] of the Muscovite State; this matter is now closed.⁵²

However, the Polish court did not relent. From the spring of 1616, preparations were underway for a new campaign, which, like the one seven years earlier, was framed as a religious crusade.⁵³ In the autumn Tsar, Sovereign and Grand Prince Ladislav Sigismundovich of All Rus' (*царь, государь и великий князь Владислав Сигизмундович всяя Руси*) ordered the circulation of a manifesto. In it, he justified his claim to the Monomakh's Cap not only on the basis of the 1610 election act, but also by asserting his descent from ancient Muscovite rulers.⁵⁴ The prince applied to the Holy See for a dispensation to be crowned by the Orthodox patriarch, but he received consent only for a Uniate coronation. On 6 April 1617, after a mass at the church of the Holy Spirit in Warsaw, he stood before the main altar, where he received the blessed sword and banner from the hands of the primate. Officially, he was given command of the campaign, though de facto command of the entire army was held by Jan Karol Chodkiewicz. The political significance of Ladislav's position was clearly reflected in various tactical measures, such as the establishment of the so-called Muscovite court. As Marta Jaworska observes, "the prince supported his claims to the throne of the tsars with an extensive ideological programme,

49. Платонов, *Очерки по истории*, 425, 439, 457–459; Polak, *O Kreml*, 212.

50. Sigismund III also warned against the plans of the English, who were considering having King James I take over the protectorate of the northern part of the Muscovite State in order to preserve the Muscovy Company, Polak, *O Kreml*, 192.

51. Геннадий М. Коваленко, "Станислав Жолкевский и Якоб Делагарди в России", *Труды Исторического факультета Санкт-Петербургского университета* 3, no. 10 (2012), 107–111.

52. *Памятники дипломатических сношений Московского государства с Польско-Литовским государством. Изданы под ред. С. А. Белокурова*, vol. 5: 1609–1615 гг. (Москва: Типография Г. Лисснера и Д. Собко, 1913), 482 (translated for the purpose of the current article).

53. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka. Funkcje propagandowe sztuki w epoce Wazów 1587–1668* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983), 70.

54. Grala, "God Save Tsar Władysław", 339.

the foundation of which was the belief that he was the rightful heir to the Monomakh's Cap".⁵⁵ The prince believed he had claims to the Muscovite throne not only because he had been elected but also, imitating his father, because of his hereditary rights. The mother of Jogaila (Ladislaus Jagello, Polish: Władysław Jagiełło), the founder of the Jagiellonian-Vasa dynasty, was Princess Uliana of Tver, granddaughter of Grand Prince Mikhail of Tver.⁵⁶ Ladislas, as the overlord of Kiev and Halych – the two historical capitals of Ruthenia – considered himself a cousin and lawful successor of the Rurikids. He established an administrative apparatus to represent the Muscovite society and to facilitate his seizure of power. He ostentatiously supported Orthodoxy and emphasised the acculturation of Orthodox customs, such as kissing the cross and the veneration of icons. A fragment of his camp canopy, now in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, featuring a distinctive heraldic frieze (displaying the coats of arms of the Polish Crown, Sweden, Lithuania and Muscovy), serves as evidence of the paraphernalia prepared for him in 1616–1617.⁵⁷ The court's propaganda campaign also relied on the use of the so-called Polish costume (with Eastern connotations) as a tool for persuading Ladislas's new Muscovite subjects. However, the unsuccessful storming of Moscow on 1 October 1618 and the lack of funds to continue the war led the commissioners to sign the Truce of Deulino, which came into effect on 1 January 1619. This agreement preserved Prince Ladislas's rights to the throne, and in March 1619, the prince returned to Warsaw.

In the spring of 1633, the metropolitan of Kiev, Petro Mogila, composed a thanksgiving prayer to mark the accession of "the great Tsar Władysław" (великого царя Владислава) to the Polish-Lithuanian throne. On 6 December 1633, during his renowned speech as part of his "Embassy of Obedience" to Pope Urban VIII, Jerzy Ossoliński referred to Muscovy as one of the kingdoms belonging to the Vasa dynasty.⁵⁸ The Smolensk War (1632–1634) provided another pretext for attempting to claim the Kremlin, but it was only the Treaty of Polyanovka, signed in June 1634, that put an end to these aspirations. Ladislas renounced all claims to the tsarist throne, and the entire Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania pledged "not to call the Great Monarch Ladislas Tsar and Grand Duke of All Rus". From that moment on, Muscovite references became rare in the imagery of the Polish Vasas. Nevertheless, Ladislas's titular rule over the throne of Muscovy undoubtedly prompted the need to Europeanise the Muscovite court and cultural life in the state.⁵⁹

AN ENVIOUS FATHER

The first stage of Ladislas's "Muscovite" iconography was part of a propaganda campaign which, at the time, appeared to reflect the ambitions of Żółkiewski and Sigismund III. From 1611–1612, Sigismund came into possession of two crowns from the Kremlin treasury: the "Siberian" crown, commissioned in Prague by Boris Godunov and modelled on the *Hauskrone* of Rudolf II, and the so-called Astrakhan Cap, originally ordered by Ivan the Terrible from English goldsmiths.⁶⁰ The

55. Maria Jaworska, "Moskiewski dwór królewicza Władysława IV w latach 1616–1617", *Kronika Zamkowa. Roczniki* 2 (2015), 31.

56. Hieronim Grała, "Zygmunt III – potomek 'Moskiewskiej' księżniczki? (Wokół praw Wazów do carskiego tronu)", in: *Origines, fontes et narrationes – pośród kręgów poznania historycznego. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Marcelemu Antoniewiczowi*, eds. Marek Cetwiński, Maciej Janik (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo im. Stanisława Podobińskiego Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego im. Jana Długosza, 2018), 233–247.

57. Satin, gold, silver and silk thread, spangles, embroidery, 200 × 1110 mm, Warsaw, National Museum, inv. no. 231951, *Sztuka dworu Wazów w Polsce*, ed. Andrzej Fischinger (Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, 1976), 83.

58. Grała, "God Save Tsar Władysław", 334–335.

59. Владимир Г. Короткий, "Белорусская, русская, украинская 'смуты' – истоки переделов границ стран Центральной и Восточной Европы в XVI–XVII вв.", *Труды Исторического факультета Санкт-Петербургского университета* 3, no. 10 (2012), 133–137.

60. Walter Leitsch, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2009), vol. 4, 2296. Alexandr W. Lavrentev recognises the existence of only one *insignium* of this type. In his opinion, the Polish Vasas possessed the so-called Astrakhan Cap of Ivan IV, which was supplied to him by London craftsmen in 1573, Aleksandr W. Ławrientiew [Alexandr W. Lavrentev], "'Corona moscovitica' ze Skarbca Koronnego epoki Wazów (wokół kwestii

first crown symbolised both Sigismund's ambitions and the prevailing belief in Western Europe regarding the objectives of the Muscovite war. Immediately after Ladislas was elected tsar, books were printed at his behest, coins bearing his name were minted, and state seals were issued in his name.⁶¹ All funds for public purposes were expended on the orders of the "Gosudar' of All Rus'" (*Vseya Rusi Samoderzhitsa*), Tsar and Grand Prince Ladislas Sigismuntovitsch, and with the approval of the boyars. Nevertheless, it was King Sigismund who appointed trusted officials in Muscovy and granted them privileges. The chancellery issued documents under the authority of either the king or prince. Over time, Sigismund III even began to appear in official documents as the *Velikiy* [Great] *Gosudar'*, relegating the minor title to his son in the preamble: *velikiy gosudar' korolevich' velikogo Moskovskogo Gosudarstva*, in accordance with the concept of temporary regency promoted by the king.⁶²

On 24 July 1611, Sigismund III made a triumphant entry into the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where he was hailed as the "Lord of the Muscovite Empire". One of the emblems displayed on the triumphal gate erected at the Vilnius Academy featured an allegorical figure presenting the king with a victor's palm and a lily to Ladislas. Another emblem depicted the prince, to whom Fortuna had bound the Muscovites, engaged in writing. This was accompanied by the motto *NON-DUM ARMATA PALLADE*, signifying that the time had not yet come for "his" Athena to take up arms.⁶³

At a parliamentary session in 1611, the deputies requested that the king allow his eldest son to participate in the deliberations and familiarise himself in advance

with the applicable laws, privileges and customs. An engraving by Tomasz Makowski reproduces a now-lost ceiling painting by Tommaso Dolabella, which once adorned the king's antechamber at the Royal Castle in Warsaw (Fig. 7).⁶⁴ The scene depicts the historic event of 29 October 1611, during which Żółkiewski delivered a speech presenting the captured Vasili IV Shuysky and his brothers, Ivan and Dmitry, to the sovereign, his son, and the entire parliament. The royal throne serves as the central axis of the composition, with Sigismund (exceptionally) dressed in Polish robes, seated alongside – although not in line with – Prince Ladislas, who is attired in the latest Parisian fashion, with chains, symbolising power, on his chest. Both the real event and its iconographic representations were meticulously planned. The actual presentation of the captives to the king had taken place earlier, near Smolensk, on 30 November 1610. However, it was decided to recreate the scene in the parliamentary forum, thereby lending the event an appropriately diplomatic tone. Notably, the lower inscription on the engraving hails Ladislas as the emperor of Muscovy, *Principi Wladislao Moscoviae Imperatoris*. This title was clearly inconsistent with all the accounts of that memorable Sejm, during which the tribute was received primarily by Sigismund III.⁶⁵ The only dissonance in Makowski's engraving is the figure of Ladislas – participating in the Sejm's proceedings without the right to vote, receiving the tribute from the Shuyskys, and simultaneously relinquishing this privilege to his father. He is portrayed as a silent and passive observer of historical upheavals in which he was merely the object (Fig. 8). Interestingly, in the painted version of the *Tribute of the Shuysky Tsars* from the

pochodzenia insygnium)", *Kronika Zamkowa. Roczniki* 2 (2015), 7–30. See Jacek Żukowski, "Astrachańska, rudolfińska i rychterowa. Moskiewskie korony polskich Wazów", *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka* 2024 (special issue dedicated to the memory of Prof. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, in preparation).

61. Aleksander Gosiewski, the commander of Polish troops in the Moscow Kremlin, apparently advised King Sigismund to send minters to Moscow to strike coins bearing his image. The Moscow treasury covered, among other expenses, the maintenance costs of the Tsar's Bodyguard, the Yeomen of the Guard, Darowski, *Polacy w Kremlu*, 31.

62. *Памятники дипломатических сношений*, 88, 147, 156, 278, 279, 284, 352, 443, 452, 453, 465–468, 513–515, 563, 662, 663, 690, 706, 707.

63. *Day of Triumph. The Victory at Smolensk on June 13, 1611 and the Ceremonial Reception of Sigismund Vasa in Vilnius on 24 July 1611*, eds. Eugenija Ulčinaitė, Eugenijus Saviščevas (Vilnius: Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai, 2011), 115–302.

64. Engraving, 266 × 328 mm, The Museum of Warsaw (inv. no. 1359) and the Princes Czartoryski Museum (inv. no. R. 9218).

65. According to Hieronim Grala, that inscription „seems to indicate that the Vasas consistently denying the Rurikids the right to the tsarist title, tended to judge their own rules in Muscovy by different standards”, Grala, "God Save Tsar Władysław", 346.



8 Tomasz Makowski, *Presentation of Tsar Vasili Shuysky and His Brothers*, 1611, detail of an engraving showing King Sigismund III and Crown Prince Ladislas Sigismund

Pidhirtsi (Podhorce) Castle, Ladislas is depicted almost perfectly on a par with Sigismund III, this time dressed in hussar's attire (Fig. 9).⁶⁶ What merits attention is the ceremonial balance between Sigismund III and Ladislas, symbolising the alliance of two equal nations. Ladislas is depicted in a similar *alla polacca* attire – a key tool of visual propaganda – in a portrait painted during this period and sent to the Medici court (Fig. 10).⁶⁷ On

20 December 1611, the tsar-elect held an audience in the Warsaw Castle for the Muscovite envoys: Prince Yuriy Trubetskoy, Mikhail Saltykov-Morozov and dyak Vasili Osipovich Yanov. The “great tsar” appeared in a red *delia* (a Polish coat) and a white satin *żupan*.⁶⁸ During the 1617–1619 expedition Ladislas, it seems, generally wore Polish attire. However, the conqueror's official costume was armour. It is no coincidence that

66. Tommaso Dolabella with studio, *Stanisław Żółkiewski Presents the Captured Shuysky Tsars to King Sigismund and Prince Ladislas Sigismund at the Sejm of 1611*, after 1617, oil, canvas, 4020 × 3400 mm, Lviv Historical Museum, inv. no. Ж-1423, Ewa Wiłkojć, “Siedemnastowieczny obraz Stanisław Żółkiewski przedstawia Zygmunta III i królewiczowi Władysławowi na sejmie w 1611 roku pojmanych carów Szujskich z Lwowskiego Muzeum Historycznego w świetle badań konserwatorskich”, in: *Hold carów Szujskich*, eds. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Mirosław Nagielski (Warszawa: Neriton, 2012), 167–169, Figs. 13–16.

67. Jacob Troschel (?), *Portrait of Ladislas Vasa*, c. 1612, oil, canvas, 2170 × 1240 mm, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, *depositi*, inv. no. 2350, Katuscia Quinci, Jacek Żukowski, “Portret Władysława Zygmunta w stroju polskim”, in: *Świat polskich Wazów. Przestrzeń – ludzie – sztuka*, ed. Jacek Żukowski, exh. cat. (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2019), 255–256.

68. *Jako posłowie moskiewscy Królewica JM witali 19 Decembris w Warszawie*, Cracow, The Princes Czartoryski Library, MS 350, 378–379.



9 Tommaso Dolabella with studio, *Stanisław Żółkiewski Presents the Captured Shuyskiy Tsars to King Sigismund and Prince Ladislas Sigismund at the Sejm of 1611*, after 1617, detail, Lviv, Lviv Historical Museum. Photo © Lviv Historical Museum

the prince is depicted in an “iron outfit”⁶⁹ on the frontispiece of a contemporary print *Wyjazd z Warszawy Naiasniejszego X. Władysława Krolewica Polskiego Do Moskwy* (Departure of Ladislas, the Most Serene Prince of Poland, from Warsaw to Muscovy; Fig. 11). He is portrayed holding a mace, without a ruff, with a traditional Polish haircut and, significantly, without any tsarist insignia. The armour, supplemented by a prominent

ruff, was also featured on the Parisian engraving, a print intended for Western European audience.⁷⁰

The battle scene in the lower section of the BnF engraving aligns with descriptions of the imagery adorning the triumphal gates erected for Ladislas during his entry into Luts'k in 1617, as he advanced towards Moscow.⁷¹ In a programme devised by local Jesuits and their students, Ladislas was likened to great military leaders such as Hannibal, Alexander the Great, Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Gaius Crastinus leading a military phalanx. In one of the emblematic paintings, he was portrayed as a disciple of Mars, clad in gleaming armour and wielding a mace, with a *galea* topped by a plume, a sword at his side, and surrounded by a multitude of “troops united by their faith in their leader”. However, the commissioning of the engraving in question could not have been part of the aforementioned propaganda campaign from late 1616. The absence of the title *Electus Dux Moschoviae* on the print appears particularly significant.

THE ENIGMATIC COMMISSIONER

The artwork in question should be regarded as a working proof (*épreuve*), resulting from a commission dated around 1609–1610. It was intended for European ruling houses and simultaneously served as a kind of prognostic for the prince, encapsulating his political education programme. To some extent, it complements the engraving created in 1605 by Matthäus Greuter, entitled *The Allegory of Prince Ladislas Vasa*. This earlier work was funded by Bishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki, who sought to ingratiate himself with the king.⁷²

69. Kasper Miaskowski, *Zbiór rytmów*, ed. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Stowarzyszenie “Pro Cultura Litteraria”, 1995), 230.

70. For the Poles, the ruff was seen a symbol of absolutist practices and effeminacy; see Jacek Żukowski, “Cejlońskie koło u wozu. O kryzie słów kilka”, *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka* 17, no. 2 (2010), 121–141.

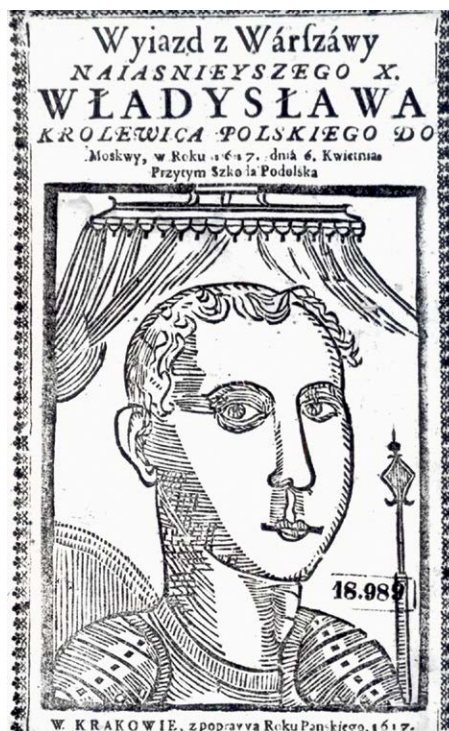
71. *Applausus Quos in desideratissimum Poloniae & Sueciae Principem, Serenissimum Władysław Sigismundum [...] ad capessendum Moschouiae Imperium ducens exercitus, Luceoriam ingrederetur [...] (Cracoviae: In officina typographica Francisci Cesarij, [1617])*. See Jacek Żukowski, “Wielki Książ Moskiewski Władysław Zygmuntowicz. Przegląd ikonografii w 400-setną rocznicę elekcji”, in: *The Royal Component of Lithuanian Culture: Images, Symbols, Relics*, eds. Jolita Liškevičienė, Sigita Maslauskaitė, Gabija Surdokaitė-Vitienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2012), 177–209.

72. The Jacques Petithory drawing (pen and brown ink, brown wash, red and black chalk, on paper, 383 × 521 mm, Bayonne, musée Bonat-Helleu, musée du Louvre, loan inv. no. RF 50876) is a preparatory drawing to an engraving (400 × 525 mm, Cracow, The Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. no. MNK XV-R-6921; other impressions in BnF, Paris, and in Albertina, Vienna) designed as the *conclusio* for the academic thesis of Nicolaus Próchnicki, a Polish student at the Collegio Romano. The composition, dedicated to Ladislas as hereditary prince of Sweden, could function also as a *mnemosynon*, i.e. a kind of panegyric marking Ladislas's 10th birthday and his early public appearances, Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich (et al.), *German*



10 Jacob Troschel (?), *Portrait of Ladislas Vasa*, ca. 1612, detail, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. Photo © Galleria degli Uffizi. Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

Despite assimilating many aspects of Eastern culture, Ladislas identified himself as a member of the contemporaneous dynastic network of European rulers and monarchs. This leads to the conclusion that the portrait in question was intended as a votive offering – a symbolic act of fortune-telling and a prophecy awaiting fulfilment. The absence of credible sources for the iconography of Ladislas in Russian collections⁷³ stems, among other factors, from the circumstances of his election. He was chosen by the Zemsky Sobor, but not in its full composition; the election was confirmed by “all Muscovite lands” only under the pressure of Żółkiewski’s troops. Furthermore, Ladislas was never crowned; he remained merely a tsar-elect (*наречённый цесарь*). Any existing images may have been deliberately obliterated in keeping with the ancient Byzantine



11 *Wyjazd z Warszawy Naiasnieyszego X. Władysława Krowczyńskiego do Moskwy* (Kraków 1617), frontispiece, Wrocław, The National Ossolinski Institute. Photo © The National Ossolinski Institute

tradition of *damnatio memoriae*. Additionally, after Ladislas’s death, the Russians sought to erase all traces of Polish-Lithuanian victories during the reign of the first two Vasas on the Polish throne.

We cannot be certain that Sigismund III himself directly commissioned the print. This role may have been undertaken by the Grand Marshal of the Crown, Mikołaj Wolski, who was in Rome from 16 January to 5 March 1610 on a diplomatic mission to secure financial support for the war against Muscovy.⁷⁴ Wolski, possibly with the backing of Jakub Zadzik, might have arranged for the portrait through Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, the protector of the Kingdom of Poland in Rome (*Protettore del Regno di Polonia*). Another potential commissioner of the engraving could have been Wojciech Baranowski, Archbishop of Gniezno and

Woodcuts, Engravings and Etchings ca. 1400–1700, vol. 12 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Amsterdam Sound & Vision Publishers, 1983), 156, no. 202; Benjamin Couilleaux, “Alegoria królewicza Władysława Wazy. Matthäus Greuter”, in: *Świat polskich Wazów*, 271–272; Jakub Pokora, “Mnemosynon dla królewicza Władysława Zygmunta Wazy. Rycina Matthaeusa Greutera z 1605 r.”, *Kronika Zamkowa. Roczniki* 6 (2019), 101–112.

73. The exception is the portrait of Ladislas in the *Tsarskiy titulyarnik* (Царский титулярник, Tsar’s Book of Titles), which is based on an image created around 1634; see Żukowski, “Wielki Książ Moskiewski”, Fig. 11.

74. Maciszewski, *Polska a Moskwa*, 189–190; Wojciech Tygielski, “Marszałka Mikołaja Wolskiego poselstwo do Rzymu (1609–1610)”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 43 (1999), 73–83.

Primate of Poland, who was acting on behalf of the king in Poland during his Smolensk-Moscow campaign. In his youth, Baranowski had accompanied Stephen Báthory on his expedition to Pskov. The commission might have been a gesture of gratitude for his appointment as primate, while also serving as an ostentatious signal of his dissociation from political opposition. The BnF print could symbolise the hopes surrounding the 1609 expedition, particularly supported by the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic clergy (such as Szymon Rudnicki, Bishop of Warmia, and Benedykt Woyna, Bishop of Vilnius).⁷⁵ This interpretation aligns with Baranowski's letter to Pope Paul V, sent in November of that year.⁷⁶

Finally, the most plausible hypothesis regarding the originator of the project involves Ladislas's grandmother, Maria Anna of Bavaria, Archduchess of Austria, who died on 29 April 1608. Although this date might seem too early for the commissioning of the engraving, the Austrian Habsburg circle cannot be dismissed, given the work's distinctly dynastic connotations (*matre Austriae Caesaris orte domo...*). At European courts, Ladislas was regarded as a Habsburg on his mother's side. Maria Anna's death could also explain the apparent suspension of the project to produce a finalised version of this (un-sanctioned?) image and its limited distribution. The engraving was not published in significant quantities.

CONCLUSION

Evidently, the BnF print represents a crucial, missing element of Ladislas's carefully cultivated image. Here, he is depicted neither as one of the Sarmatians nor as

a connoisseur or patron of science and the visual arts. Instead, the image of his princely persona which the print presents is focused on a new military challenge. The portrait, enriched with laudatory inscriptions, can therefore be examined alongside agitational works of the time. These were often circulated as handwritten copies or occasional prints, including those by Sebastian Petrycy (spring 1609)⁷⁷ and Jan Stanisławski (1613).⁷⁸ Ladislas's identity was primarily defined through his connection to his ancestors. In the age of chivalric militarism, this artwork sought to underscore the continuity between the Jagiellonian and Vasa dynasties. Deeply embedded in the political discourses of the time, the portrait aligns with the propaganda of the 1610s. The legacy of Rus' was actively evoked during this period. For instance, the Roman workshop of Jacopo Lauro published in 1604 a paraphrase of an engraving by Tomasz Treter, *Aquila SS Patronum Regni Poloniae* (1588), which depicted the Polish Eagle. In this pantheon of the Kingdom of Poland's patrons – alongside the Piasts and the Jagiellons, ancestors of Sigismund III – there appeared three Rurikid princes: Boris, Gleb, and Saint Práxedes.⁷⁹ This deliberate invocation of Old Ruthenian heritage by the Old Polish elite placed the descendants of Vladimir the Great alongside native monarchs, symbolising the Christian unity of the monarchy's constituent states: the Crown (i.e. Poland and Ruthenia) and Lithuania.⁸⁰ These themes resonate in the BnF copperplate portrait of *Infans Poloniae*, created during Ladislas's coming of age. This remarkable work of art occupies a space of creative experimentation yet continues to pose numerous questions.

75. Sobieski, *Żółkiewski na Kremlu*, 17–23.

76. “Cum tamen ad occupandam ipsam amplissimam Moscoviae Monarchiam maxima adhuc laborum et periculorum moles supersit, impar virium nostrarum ratio fuerit, ne ipse Altissimus, qui solus magna operatur, dextram porrigat”, Wojciech Baranowski to Pope Paul V, Warsaw, 18 November 1609, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*, 301.

77. “My, Władysławie krolewiczu, ciebie / Bogiem mieć będziem, kiedy do Korony / Przyłączysz Moskwę i Septemtrion” [We shall hold you a God, Crown Prince Ladislas, if you attach Muscovy and the Northerners to the Crown], Sebastian Petrycy, *Horatius Flaccus w trudach więzienia moskiewskiego na utulenie żalów przez Sebastiani Petricii, nie tak namyślnie, iak w niewoley teskliwie w lyrycznych pieśniach zawarty* (Kraków: W Drukarni Bazylego Skalskiego, 1609), Eij v.

78. “Siądź wielki Królewicu na swym majestacie, / W ręce mu złoty posoch i koronę dajcie, / Wszystkie państwa moskiewskie bijcie czołem swemu, / Moskiewskiemu carowi”, Jan Stanisławski, *Wojna moskiewska* ([Zamość: Drukarnia Akademii Zamoyskiej?], 1613), Eiiij v.

79. Grala, “God Save Tsar Władysław”, 343.

80. Grala, “Zygmunt III”, 237. “et tanto più, che essendo estinta la vera stirpe de li Duchi di Moscovia, pretende la Maestà Sua haver ragione sopra quel Principato per le parentele, che sono tra quei Principi et la Casa Iagellona, da la quale Sua Maestà discende”, Apostolic Nuncio Francesco Simonetta to Cardinal Borgese, Vilnius, 17 October 1609, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum*, ed. Augustin Theiner, vol. 3 (Romæ: Typis vaticanis, 1863), 316.

Transcript of the charter that Denis Oladin brought from the senators of the Crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the boyars of the Muscovite State and to the entire land on 20 July 1613*

[...] You have voluntarily resolved and decreed that – according to the will of the Almighty Lord, our Triune God, and with the blessing of Patriarch Hermogenes, the metropolitan, the archbishops, bishops, and the entire holy council, and by the will and choice of you, the boyars, landed gentry, proud dyaks, and all people of various ranks from across the Muscovite State – the son of His Royal Majesty, our gracious lord, the Most Serene Prince Ladislav, is to be your Grand Tsar and Grand Duke of all Rus', the Principalities of Vladimir and Moscow, and all other famous and great Muscovite states. You swore on the Holy Cross to serve him, your ruler, and his descendants forever, wishing them well in all matters, just as you did for your previous great hereditary rulers. You further pledged never to consider or desire anyone else from Moscow or other lands for the tsarist throne, apart from Prince Ladislav. [...] After consultation with Hetman Żółkiewski, we resolved that the Polish and Lithuanian soldiers accompanying the hetman should enter the capital [Moscow] and remain there until the arrival of your monarch, the Most Serene Prince Ladislav, to the throne of Muscovy, to defend the city and the entire state. [...] Due to betrayal, much Christian blood was shed, and the capital of Moscow, along with many other cities, was plunged into devastation.

Hope was born when His Royal Majesty, our ruler, with gratitude and kindness accepted the tribute from the Muscovite State and, in accordance with God's will and your humble request, graciously resolved to grant Muscovy a ruler in his son, Prince Ladislav. This would have happened long ago, were it not for the thefts and betrayals committed by many of your own villains. Despite this, the king did not even entertain the thought of destroying the capital or other cities. He showed kindness and mercy to the besieged inhabitants of Smolensk, patiently enduring their resistance for a long time while awaiting their surrender. The king wished to demonstrate his royal grace and goodwill, but the anger and obstinacy of Michael Shein, under the influence of Prince Vasili Golitsyn's advice and teachings, forced the king to take Smolensk – an eternal inheritance of his ancestors – by storm. Understand this: your accusations against our innocent king, His Royal Majesty, suggesting that he intended to devastate the State of Muscovy, are entirely baseless. The blame lies with yourselves. You were misled by the false deceptions of Prince Vasili Golitsyn and many other disreputable figures, breaking your oath sworn on the Holy Cross to Ladislav, your rightful lord and grand duke of all Rus'. When Ladislav, your ruler, was preparing to ascend to his royal throne in Moscow, his father, the king – our sovereign – intended to place him on your throne and crown him with the tsar's wreath before his very eyes, according to the customs of the great rulers of Muscovy who came before him. However, your disloyalty thwarted this noble endeavour. When you learnt of their arrival in the state, you displayed great pride, anger, betrayal, and injustice – not only towards your ruler but also towards your fellow boyars, the landed gentry, boyar children, and the Poles and Lithuanians who, in faith and justice, awaited their ruler in the capital and served him faithfully under oath. [...] When victory in a fair fight proved impossible for you, you resorted to deceit to compel them to surrender the city of Moscow. [...] After entering the city, you broke your word and your oath on the cross. You slaughtered many, beating and hacking them to death; others you tortured, and those who survived you cast into prisons or shackled in chains. His Royal Majesty's envoy, Prince Fyodor Inkgildeyev, and other envoys were subjected to torture, held captive for an extended period, and tormented by hunger and destitution – acts so cruel that even pagans and Muslims would not inflict such treatment upon envoys. The envoys of His Royal Majesty and his son, your great ruler Ladislav Sigismuntovitsch – Mr. Samuel Zborowski, Mr. Andrzej Mołocki, Prince Daniel Mezecki and Ivan Gramotin – whom His Royal Majesty sent ahead to announce his royal arrival, were denied access to you. You deprived them of their honour, expelled many soldiers from the capital, and fought against them. You have rejected your rightful lord, Tsar and grand duke of all Rus', Ladislav Sigismuntovitsch, to whom you swore eternal service. Now, in your charter, you openly declare that you do not want him on the throne. Furthermore, you have sent

* *Памятники дипломатических сношений*, 387–399 (translated for the purpose of the current article).

envoys to Muslims and pagan nations, urging them to attack and incite war with the aim of destroying His Royal Majesty's lands – an act of treachery that our ruler knows with certainty. For such actions, guided by pride, anger, and obstinacy against God's will and your sacred oath, you shall face divine punishment. [...] All kings and their kingdoms are always under the defence and governance of God. By His holy will, He appoints tsars to their states and empires. With His divine right hand, He nurtures, preserves and restores tsars and tsardoms. It was by His divine will and mercy that you, both clergy and laity, were called to obey your lord, Grand duke of all Rus', Ladislav. [...] Now, you cannot defy the will of God, your oath, the truth, or your own souls. You cannot choose another ruler apart from the one given to you by the Lord God, in accordance with your own choice, humble requests, and sacred vow. That ruler is Great Tsar and Grand Duke of all Rus', Ladislav Sigismuntovitsch.

Not wishing to shed Christian blood and desiring peace for you and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, His Royal Majesty, in keeping with his gracious custom and at the request of His Imperial Majesty and us, his counsellors, seeks to maintain tranquillity throughout all the cities of his state until the arrival of the envoys of His Imperial Majesty. These envoys will resolve all matters between you and His Royal Highness, our gracious ruler, and his son, Grand Duke of all Rus', Ladislav Sigismuntovitsch. Set aside your pride, stubbornness and errant ways. Reflect and recognise that it is both wicked and futile to act against your sacred oath on the cross and against your rightful lord, to whom you have pledged your souls. Instead, seek goodness, peace, and harmony for yourselves and for the Muscovite States. Instruct your people to refrain from causing riots or disturbances in any of the cities under your authority, but to live calmly and peacefully until the arrival of His Imperial Majesty's envoys and the resolution of these matters.

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